/157 cont./

286 294 The shed rod consists of a round, straight wooden rod. The heddle loops are held by a horizontally stretched string immovable in height, which is tied left and right to the two vertical posts of the weaving apparatus. The sword is semicircular in cross-section, pointed at both ends, and carved out of the dark, hard wood of the chonta palm. Its width is /158/ three to four centimeters, its length about 60 centimeters. The shuttle consists of a rod on which the thread is wound crosswise. Sometimes the spindle with the spun thread is used for this.

Making the shed for the insertion of the shuttle is laborious, for -- depending on the width of the piece to be woven -- not all the corresponding warp threads can be pulled forward simultaneously with the heddle loops. The woman doing the weaving is able to grasp only about half a dozen heddle loops at a time with one hand and pull them forward, in order to push along the sword slowly and form the shed. Even before the shed has reached the width of a sword length, the shuttle must already be pushed along, so that the weft can only be carried through in stages, as it were, with the shed formed by the heddle loops (Ill. 181 /see p. 281/). The shed formation with the wooden shed rod is essentially simpler, since the latter may easily be drawn forward to form the countershed and the heddle loops yield.

The beginning and end of the woven material are determined by the width of the only thin cross-rod, since at the end the shed rod is drawn out and the cross-rod takes on its function. In the loops left at the beginning and end, weft threads are drawn through by hand in the same form of the plain linen texture, until the loops are filled out. The last weft thread in each case is taken threefold so that a firm selvage is produced.

3. Weaving Apparatus for Women's Belts

Originally every woman was able to weave the women's belts [463] (táw), the most difficult type of weaving among the Paez. Today it is almost a specialist's work, for in Calderas there are only five women left who are able to weave the women's belts themselves.

/158 cont./

286 294 438 463 One of them, Talesia Pame, has even developed a small industry from this ability. She now weaves women's belts almost exclusively and barters them for food and other things. She is in her early thirties and has three children. Her oldest daughter, about 12 years old, is also learning from her mother how to weave belts.

286 294 The weaving apparatus (tawkyá'vitoñ) is fundamentally the same type as the one for the bands of the fiber bags. The fork-shaped mounting of the frame is somewhat wider and correspondingly longer. The weaving material is wool. The preparation for making the patterns in different colors consists of stretching the warp threads of corresponding color, which, as in the case of the fiber-bag bands, are laid around a small cross-stick. /159/ The weft thread is always plain white and, in the form of a ball, is used as the shuttle. The general arrangement of the warp threads is such that on both outer sides a number of white warp threads are stretched, then follow four of red, yellow, blue, or some other color, which, in the completed woven band, appear in each case as a colored stripe running through it. The ornamented center section consists of four white warp threads followed by two red ones. The latter serve to produce the pattern and are the only warp threads of the belt that are not woven in the linen-texture technique. They are therefore not included in the shed loop that takes every second warp thread. There are two heddle loops, one of which grasps the warp threads corresponding to the shed loop, while the other grasps the red warp threads of the ornamental chain of the center stripe (Ills. 187 to 190 /see p. 284/).

In weaving the linen texture, shed loops and heddle loops are used in the normal technique. The red warp threads of the second heddle loop are lifted up -- altogether or in part, depending on the design to be formed -- while beneath them the weaving continues in the normal linen texture. Thus, if all the red threads are lifted together, a red cross-stripe is produced as the simplest design, the height of which depends on the length of time the second heddle loop remains lifted. In making designs

/162/

386 824 The following colors are produced with vegetable dyes: red (mbe; also the color designation for pink, ocher, brown) with the roots of a plant called béwoetse. (According to Hernandez, this is the Rubiaceae Relbunium hypocarpium.) The wool threads are boiled with these roots for about an hour and they are then put in the sun. For blue coloring (séin; light blue = séin-séin) the threads are boiled with the leaves of the indigo tree for an hour; for green coloring (oálye séin; oálye = species of bird with green feathers, thus literally "oálye blue"), with the leaves of the tamp tree; and for yellow coloring (škítc), with the leaves of the műzec tree. The results of the dyeing are not always uniform. There are always deviations in the color. With a little experience, however, one can differentiate them from the purchased chemical dyes.

h) Pottery

323 The art of pottery is very little developed among the Paez and is essentially limited to larger or smaller, crudely fashioned, spherical-shaped pots (mítc) with a lip slightly curved outward. In use they are not hung up, but placed between the three hearthstones for cooking. Smaller, shallower bowls serve for roasting [531] the coca leaves. There are no vessels with handles. There is no ornamentation of any kind, neither painting, nor incising, nor [415 531 824] finger imprints. For drinking chicha or for fetching water only gourd calabashes (tőka) are used, which are exactly as unadorned and purely functional as the ceramic vessels.

323 463 The making of pots is a specialist's work. In Calderas there are three potters, two of whom are women. Only one of them, however, Santos Kiskue, works to keep a supply, whereas the other two make pots only on order. Santos Kiskue is about 40 years old and has a wife and four living children; four others [437] are dead. He has a horse, but no cow and no sheep. The latter he can do without, since he barters his pots chiefly for wool.

The technique of pottery among the Paez is a spiral coil technique. Since the shapes are very simple, a special

Since the shapes are very simple, a special
/162 cont./

463 323 [467] apprenticeship with a master is not absolutely necessary; Santos Kiskue, at any rate, began making pots by himself after an accident that left him with a stiff left wrist. He uses the unmixed clay that stands near his house. Out of this, constantly moistening it, he shapes on a /163/ board lying on the ground an even, round "clay sausage," which he then presses flat with the palm of his hand. He builds up his pots out of this in spirals. They are put with their lower part on a shallow clay bowl, so that he can turn them easily in closing up the junctures (Ills. 184 to 186 /see pp. 282-283/). He lets the freshly made pots dry for about a week under a roof, then he takes them to a place where there is sufficient dry wood. Here he places the pots very close together, stacks wood and twigs over them, and lets them burn for about two hours. They are then ready for use.

i) Candlemaking

388 [796] [462] [824] At the three annual church festivals a large number of candles (mbéla; Spanish: vela) are used to decorate the church. They are in part purchased, but largely homemade. Everyone is familiar with the process of manufacture, but for the festivals it is men's work. The wax is obtained from the wood laurel (Myrica pubescens Willd), whose small fruits, measuring about five to eight millimeters in diameter, are harvested in great masses in April and May. For this purpose the twigs are struck off and stripped of the fruits over the round berry net that is put in the opening of a large fiber bag. After they are dried, they are poured into a bag, boiled, and squeezed. The wax, caught in a vessel and dried, was formerly an important commercial product in the trade with the whites. In making the candles, wax is poured over the wicks until the proper thickness is obtained.

k) Fireworks

389 [796] [541] [462] No celebration and no church festival is possible without setting off the greatest possible number of fireworks. The firecrackers required for this are made by the men themselves.

/288 cont./

534 The genuine Paez music is performed by a group of musicians whose instruments consist of a larger or smaller number of transverse flutes, a bass drum /Pauke/, a drum /Trommel/, a tambourine, and a triangle (Ill. 202 /see p. 289/). The number of flutes varies between five and 15. Tambourine and triangle [439] (cíngalo) may be lacking. The latter is always purchased, as in general is the tambourine (panderéta), covered with skin on one side and provided with tin jingles.

Judging by its name, the transverse flute (koi) is a Paez instrument. There has not yet been an investigation of the distribution or culture-historical age of this type of flute in America; in the Old World it is certainly younger than the long flute and the Pan flute (Sachs, p. 147). Among the /289/ Paez it is 65 534 centimeters long and about 2.5 centimeters in diameter. It is 463 made from a type of reed which is also known as koi and which [824] only grows in the mountains. Its manufacture is specialist's work. In Calderas Vicente Puche is at present the only producer. A flute can be made only from the pattern of another one, which, however, is not a model flute expressly for the construction of others; rather, it is any one that Vicente happens to have at his disposal. For example, he promptly sold to me his only instrument at the time. To make a new one, he said, he would borrow a flute from a neighbor.

534 The tube of the flute is cylindrical and without knots. The 322 seal on the side of the blowhole is made by means of a piece of expressed sugar cane, which is pushed a few centimeters into the flute. The six finger-holes are not placed at equal intervals from one another. The first is 25 centimeters from the blowhole, the second finger-hole is 4.2 centimeters from the first, the third 4.5 centimeters from the second, the fourth 4.2 centimeters from the third, the fifth 3.8 centimeters from the fourth, and the sixth 4 centimeters from the fifth.

The seven very sharp-edged holes of the flute have the same diameter. They are burned in with an iron tube (barflya) of the same dimension and heated red-hot. Their position and their intervals are taken from a flute held alongside and are marked

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.

105 286 171 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp," a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were [621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized [565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for [463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father [464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if [476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

[594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal, [178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the [851] unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least [533] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

534
463
412
322
291

Ill. 203. The flute maker Vicente Puche.

Ill. 204. Burial of a child who died of whooping cough.

764

CIII

1: Nachtigall--290 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

pipes they play while walking along, unless their hands are kept busy plaiting braids of gynerium bark in the manufacture of their hats. This is the exclusive occupation of the men. Women almost invariably walk along spinning wool, their distaff under the left arm and the spindle in the left hand, while the right hand is busy at the wool.

The Paez maidens are fond of flowers and are very playful. On one occasion I observed several of them going up the hill beyond the river, in front of the church at Huila, their arms entwined about one another's necks; then they began running up the steep hill as in a contest of endurance. As they became exhausted they threw themselves on the grass, while their movements showed that they were playing and joking all the time. These children of Nature are not unpleasant to look at, except for their usual lack of cleanliness; nor are they wanting in coquetry, and they are often pretty. But in the presence of strangers they are extremely bashful, doing their utmost to keep in the background.

The old women are generally very ugly. Their clothing consists only of dirty rags, and their skin is covered with the filth of years.

Relations between the sexes, especially between husbands and wives, seem to be easy and without an air of superiority on the part of the former. On the few occasions that I had to entertain these people at their houses, the women took the same interest and the same part in the proceedings as the men, which was very different from what I observed among the Central American Indians.

Toward strangers, and especially toward Colombians of other races, the attitude of the Indians is decidedly hostile. Unless induced by the prospect of profit they will neither sell anything nor lend any service, often refusing money and accepting only articles which they especially desire. They will not allow white or black people in their homes, and at Huila they are even unwilling that the only white family living there should share the practically inexhaustible supply of fuel scattered about in the near-by forest, or have horses or cattle pasturing on the almost

/195 cont./

coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is general among men and women, old people and children. There is no household without chicha for any length of time. And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for weddings.

The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in the ground up to their rims.

The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent. Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in the following way:

A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

/224 cont./

the assisting spirit. It is not enough to know whether certain medicines correspond to certain signs. The tẽ eu must /225/ divine which remedies will be useful for the particular case. This is why the curer always carries a pouch with all the known remedies. He takes one out and consults. If the signs do not circulate, the remedy is useless; he takes out another and waits. When they are felt insistently, then the remedy is appropriate. Since the signs are given by the assisting spirit, it is he who cures.

The signs may contribute to the discovery of a vocation. If a man engaged in a manual task that does not imply motion (the making of firecrackers, plates for cooking, pottery) suddenly feels the movement of the signs, he must seek out a teacher so that he will instruct him in the art of curing. He cannot disobey them or he would go mad.

Even the curers themselves must practice the signs. If, for example, no sick clients have come for two days, the tẽ eu must visit his Kachí (2) and practice the signs; otherwise,

2. See below, "Divination sites" /see p. 9/.

they may drive him insane. For this reason, the curer must practice his profession until old age begins. Old men lose the signs because they cannot travel to go to the Kachí and practice the signs.

All the informants affirm that signs on the left side signify something bad, while those on the right indicate something good. As a rule, the signs that are given in a certain part of the body have a specific meaning. Minor differences may be noted in the information provided by the curers, but they are matters of form rather than substance. There follows a table of the symbolism of the signs, gathered from many profane informants and curers from the Parcialidades of Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima, Avisame, and San Andrés.

/346 cont./

466 given to him. From the harvests of maize, frijoles, and
427 arracacha the owner receives one bag (approximately half an
[241] arroba) of each product, and one or two bunches of the plantains.

231 He says that the hacienda owner has permitted him to raise
427 animals, but he has none, because he spends more time working
466 on the hacienda than in his own house. He says that he owned
[235] some 20 sheep, but is finished with them. Now he has only eight chickens.

427 The informant is the son of another tenant farmer and
466 grew up on this very hacienda. He has owned the house in which he now lives for 18 years. He has not signed any kind of document with the owner and has not been bothered by him about the possession of the house, but rather, on the contrary, has been urged by him to repair the house. In exchange for the use of the house and the land he is obliged to pay three days for rent
[465] per month, eating his own food and using his own tools. On the other days of the month he works for the same owner for daily wages, earning two pesos a day, excluding, of course, the days of religious or national holidays. Each week he re-
[452] ceives 12 pesos. From the owner he buys maize, manioc, and frijoles on credit, which is immediately deducted in labor. The owner only gives him salt and bananas. The panela comes from what he produces.

466 Since the informant specializes in milling and the making
427 of panela, he ordinarily does nothing else. His work begins at
257 six in the morning and ends at ten at night. He is assisted by his
[463] wife, who earns one peso a day, a deaf and dumb son who earns
[512] nothing, and another son who carries the cane to the sugar mill.
[465] This one is married, is also a tenant farmer, earns two pesos a day, and has a separate clearing. His wife does not help in the work because she stays at home caring for the house, looking after the children, and weeding the garden and the clearing.

427 At the mill he works even on Sundays at wrapping panela,
257 a task that cannot be neglected. Ordinarily he spends two weeks
461 at the mill and has the following one free (without pay) to rest,
466 to look after his own field, or to hire out his labor to anyone who